

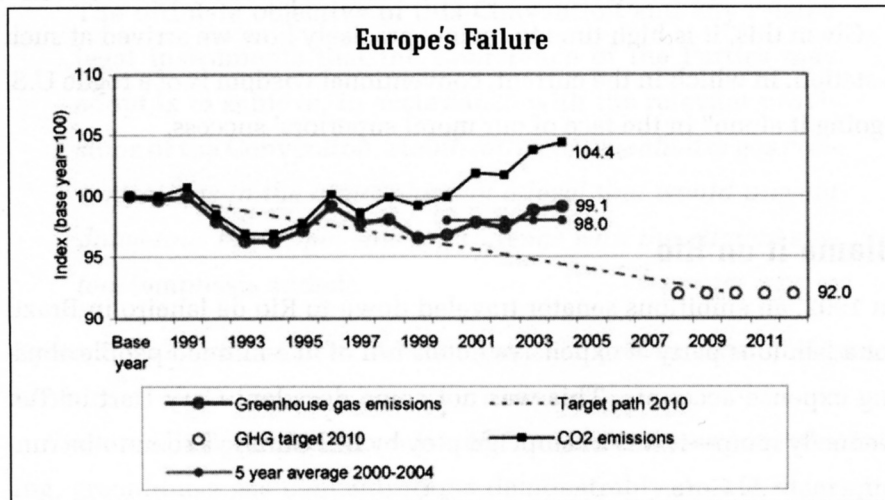
Chapter Twelve



THE KYOTO PROTOCOL

A FRUITLESS, FAILED TREATY

The below chart says more than words ever could. It isn't my chart. It is from the European Environment Agency. The dark line is Europe's carbon dioxide emissions; the lighter line their total greenhouse gas emissions. The dotted line is what they promised the world—the basis, purportedly, for their actions in the UN on Iraq, for a pending trade war, for their name-calling, and for much European anti-Americanism. Notice the year 1997, where the carbon dioxide emissions are at that point, and what's happened since. One might be tempted to say that global warming treaties aren't good for emissions.



Guess what?

- ❖ Greens quietly insist that the Kyoto Protocol is merely one-thirtieth of what they want.
- ❖ Kyoto is already costing Europe dearly—which is nonetheless increasing its greenhouse gas emissions, faster than the U.S., no less.
- ❖ European officials have admitted Kyoto is about establishing "global governance" and is designed to "level the playing field" for businesses.
- ❖ The Clinton-Gore administration never sought to ratify Kyoto, for over three years after agreeing to it.

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This is the Kyoto Truth, and apparently a painful one, given the denial in which we find so many policymakers. Europe promised their emissions would be down; they are up. Europe promised their emissions would be dropping; they are rising. Despite massive energy cost increases, increasing energy insecurity due to a manic drive to further depend on Russian gas, and remarkable, not to mention questionable, bureaucratic stunts, Europe is failing miserably at its promise to be the “world leader” in reducing emissions.

Yet they not only won't admit it, but the Europeans also ritually issue press releases trumpeting how Europe is “well on its way” and “on track” to reducing emissions as promised.

Up and rising, not down and dropping. What else could go wrong? Oh. Europe's emissions are rising faster than many others, for example, the United States'. Ooooooh, that's gotta hurt. (Europe's emissions are rising three times as fast as the U.S.'s since 2000.)

And it does hurt. European governments' attempts to comply with Kyoto, while inadequate for reducing emissions, have had quite an impact on their subjects. Energy costs are climbing, hurting the poor particularly. As a final insult, even if they could curb their emissions, the effect on climate change would be minimal and probably undetectable.

Given this, it is high time to review precisely how we arrived at such a station, in which in the current, conventional wisdom is of a rogue U.S. “going it alone” in the face of our moral superiors' success.

Blame it on Rio

In 1992, an ambitious senator traveled down to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil for a fabulous party at expensive hotels full of like-minded people abusing expense accounts. This was not some decadent Gary Hart or Ted Kennedy romp—it was a campaign ploy by Bill Clinton's soon-to-be running mate Al Gore.

Gore went to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) to complain that, while the rest of the world leaders were down in Rio talking about gas, President George H. W. Bush was somewhere else doing something productive. The elder Bush proved to have little resistance to such nagging, and gave in to the advice of White House chief of staff John Sununu, flying down to Rio and ultimately capitulating amid much abuse. Bush signed the original “global warming” treaty, the laboriously named United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) or “Rio treaty,” committing the U.S. to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. The Bush aides pushing the president into this deal stressed that it was a treaty with “voluntary” targets—in truth, it was a treaty that dignified the global warming sect of the man-as-agent-of-doom cult. This being an election year and with the Tennessee Scold hot on their heels, too, the U.S. Senate then rushed into ratifying the Rio treaty, unanimously, in embarrassing record time. In fact, among the about 190 parties to Rio, only the Seychelles and Mauritius acted faster.¹

The fatal conceit of the Rio treaty was that it presumed to control nature. The treaty’s statement of objectives read:

The ultimate objective of this Convention and any related legal instruments that the Conference of the Parties may adopt is to achieve, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Convention, *stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system* (emphasis added).

Kyoto, Rio’s successor, held the same goal. The problem with this goal is twofold.

First, media hype and deceptive Al Gore slide shows notwithstanding, greenhouse gas concentrations demonstrably do not determine

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temperatures. As discussed before, historically GHGs have gone up and down, but not in the same pattern as temperatures. To believe otherwise presumes that in the incredibly complex climate system all other things are and remain equal. Clearly, they are not and do not. Sometimes a GHG rise has preceded a temperature rise, and sometimes vice versa. Sometimes they move in opposite directions. It's a bit odd then for a treaty purporting to control "climate change" to claim to do so by moderating Man's contribution to greenhouse gas concentrations.

This raises the even more important point: *Man cannot dictate atmospheric GHG concentrations.* Throughout time they have been higher, they have been lower, all without our help. They are not static, and never will be. One might think the greens would show some more respect for Mother Nature, who, after all, produces 97 percent of greenhouse gases currently in our atmosphere by volume. Who gets penalized in the (common) event of massive natural releases causing a change in concentrations? In the event of a volcano eruption, increased release of gases from the oceans, or other natural activity, whose power plants must shut down or whose military must idle their engines?

Atmospheric concentrations of GHGs are no more inherently stable or subject to stabilization than climate, yet both of the "global warming" treaties claim stabilizing concentrations as their goal. The only thing we can (in theory) stabilize is *emissions*. As the chart above shows, this appears to be beyond the capabilities of even Europe.

That this "concentrations" goal has not been laughed off the pages of the establishment media make it clear that the media have never read Kyoto or given thought to its substance as opposed to its symbolism, theater, and politics.

These days, the parties pretend in their official statements that stabilizing *temperature* to two degrees above the temperature during the Little Ice Age is the agreed goal of Kyoto, equally absurd upon reflection.

The Senate's unanimous rejection

The U.S. failed to meet Rio's targets, just like many other nations.² "Global governance" types were soon agitating for another treaty—one that would "*legally bind*" nations to make strides toward that impossible goal of "stabilizing concentrations" of CO₂, nitrous oxides, and methane in the atmosphere, this time through emissions *cuts* from 1990 levels. As the agenda emerged and troubling noise emanated from the Clinton White House, Senators Robert Byrd and Chuck Hagel introduced Senate Resolution 98.

Byrd-Hagel offers a history lesson for Al Gore, John Kerry (who voted for it), Hillary Clinton, and all others claiming or implying that somehow President George W. Bush's opposition to Kyoto is aberrant. This bipartisan pair introduced the resolution in mid-1997, as the White House prepared for December 1997 talks in Kyoto, Japan. Republican and Democrat alike, senators sensed the Clinton administration was about to agree to a pact targeting the U.S. The resolution instructed the administration to not enter any agreement binding the U.S. to reduce greenhouse gases if the agreement did not include commitments by developing countries as well as developed and industrialized countries. Also, Clinton and Gore were to reject any treaty that would result in harm to the U.S. economy.

It passed 95 to 0 on July 25, 1997.

The resolution is unambiguous:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) the United States should not be a signatory to any protocol to, or other agreement regarding, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change of 1992, at negotiations in Kyoto in December 1997, or thereafter, which would—

(A) mandate new commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for the Annex I Parties, unless the protocol or

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other agreement also mandates new specific scheduled commitments to limit or reduce greenhouse gas emissions for Developing Country Parties within the same compliance period, or

(B) would result in serious harm to the economy of the United States.³

This seemingly straightforward direction, the sort of “advice” called for in the Senate’s constitutional “advice and consent” role, was as we shall see, apparently too opaque for the Clintonistas.

At about the same time, however, a little gas pipeline company out of Houston was making its move up the ranks of the *Fortune* 500, buying windmill and solar panel companies among other Kyoto-centric schemes, expanding its enormous gas pipeline network that would skyrocket under a carbon-rationing regime, and building (subsidized) coal-fired powerplants in developing countries that presumably would not be covered by a binding climate change treaty.

When the company’s executive, one Ken Lay, paid a visit to the Oval Office in August 1997, he leaned on Clinton and Gore to support the Kyoto Protocol and offered very specific ideas as to what it must include. Later he would pen op-eds in favor of GHG rationing. He was joined in his meeting by British Petroleum chief Sir John Browne (now Lord Browne), who was cobbling together a similar business plan he would misleadingly dub “Beyond Petroleum.”

By December, however, talks in Kyoto were going nowhere due to U.S. negotiators taking the Senate’s admonition seriously. Al Gore decided to change that. With this corporate backing, and despite the unanimous signal from the Senate that agreeing to such a protocol would ensure it was a dead letter, Gore boarded a plane to burn about half a million gallons of kerosene⁴ for a seventy-two-hour whirlwind from Washington, D.C., to Kyoto, just to instruct U.S. negotiators to demonstrate “increased negotiating flexibility.”⁵ In English, that means *give in to what Europe*

wants. Consequently U.S. negotiators accepted an agreement that would bind the U.S. and Europe and very few others, leaving most of the world off the hook. Also, it clearly would “result in serious harm to the economy of the United States.” Senate unanimity be damned.

What about those developing countries which per the Senate were to bear equal pain as the U.S.? Their sole obligation under Kyoto was to produce an annual report along the lines of “What I Would Do if I Had Made the Same Stupid Promise You Did.” This was to be paid for by various funds established by Kyoto to be funded by you and me. As icing on the crepe, the ever-demanding (of others) French refused to promise to reduce emissions from the agreed baseline levels.

Bill Clinton waited a year and then signed the treaty, at the deadline for doing so and certainly with no Rose Garden ceremony. In fact, he so distanced himself from what is now a signature glory of his post-presidency, that he delegated it to an acting functionary at the UN, named Peter Burleigh. As any student of the Constitution knows, the president does not have the authority to bind the U.S. to a treaty. This requires approval of two-thirds of senators present. Considering not only Kyoto’s premise being inherently flawed, its terms relatively punitive on the U.S. compared to Europe (and certainly the rest of the happily exempt world) and that that very same chamber, just months before, had preemptively said “over our dead ‘world’s greatest deliberative body,’” Clinton wisely spent the remaining three-plus years of his presidency *not* sending it to the Senate for ratification.

Keep this in mind next time you hear someone talking about how George W. Bush “rejected” Kyoto. Bush couldn’t sign Kyoto; that can only be done once. He could seek ratification or, like Clinton, not. By any logic, therefore, if Bush *rejected* it, so did Clinton-Gore. More on that later, but now it’s time to examine this treaty, whose praises are sung by the unwieldy choir of Gore, Lieberman, McCain, the entire media, a good chunk of the *Fortune* 500, and all of the European elite.

Kyoto's flaws

Kyoto as agreed in 1997 requires a handful of “developed” countries to limit—not necessarily reduce—certain gases to some level compared to 1990, specific to each country and by date certain (averaged over the five years of 2008–2012).

Clinton-Gore agreed to Kyoto terms allowing Europe to create a collective “bubble” under which most European countries caught a free ride on previous reductions made by Germany and the UK—reductions made *preceding and completely unrelated to Kyoto*: 1) the UK’s “dash for gas” whereby Margaret Thatcher aimed to free the country from its strike-prone coal miners, and 2) Germany’s shutting massive amounts of old, inefficient East German production capacity when the countries reunited. These are Europe’s “Kyoto reductions.”

Europe as a whole promised to reduce its GHG emissions to 8 percent below their 1990 levels, and the countries then got together to divvy up their reductions in a “burden-sharing agreement.” In addition to the UK and Germany, three other countries actually promised to pull more than their share—at which they are nonetheless spectacularly flopping—while the rest of the EU would do its part by *increasing* emissions but within limits (up to 27 percent *above* 1990).⁶ It is in this quiet arrangement that we find Europe’s supposed world leadership in GHG emission reductions. Can you locate this reality in the laudatory (to the EU) and sneering (at the U.S.) media coverage of Kyoto?

The above explains why European think tank expert Christian Egenhofer says: “[Europe’s] targets were the easiest . . . You could say that the US did a very bad job at negotiating [in Kyoto] while the EU did a good job.”

Kyoto also established a “cap-and-trade” system under which companies and countries may meet their quotas either by reducing emissions or—since that’s obviously not happening—buying “credits” from others who regress economically or, against the odds, actually reduce emissions

while continuing to grow (no such parties exist outside of the two unrelated exceptions cited). This idea was insisted upon by the U.S. in Kyoto. Europe opposed it bitterly, all the way through negotiations in late 2000. At that point, seeing its own numbers, Europe's tune changed. When Kyoto went into effect in February 2005 the streets of Brussels were festooned with decorations proclaiming the singular European achievement of an "Emissions Trading Scheme." As we shall see, this is Al Gore's (unwitting) revenge for the EU taking the U.S. to the cleaners.

Despite the advantages inherent to Europe in Kyoto's design, and despite the U.S. economy growing nearly three times as fast as Europe's, Europe's GHG emissions have increased *far faster than the U.S.'s*, and far faster than it had permitted itself under Kyoto.

Further bad news is that after nine years and ten negotiations, no one new wants to join. The vast majority of the world is exempt and intends to stay that way. Kyoto has been dead since its arrival.

The better news for Europe is that Kyoto, although touted as "binding and enforceable" is currently no such thing. At the December 2005 Kyoto talks in Montreal the Saudis proposed an amendment to make it binding. Europe refused. As such, the ineffective Kyoto is no more binding than the voluntary programs in the U.S. that Europe so bitterly declaims. Kyoto is useful for one purpose only, as a totem in the anti-Bush struggle.

Impotent Kyoto

For all the agonizing about Bush's "rejection" of it, you would think Kyoto was something that would actually help ward off global warming. It isn't.

Begin with the basic fact that the treaty professes to control something that no treaty can control: atmospheric greenhouse gas *concentrations*. Unless the United Nations can suppress volcanic, oceanic, or other natural releases (or absorption) of GHGs, there is nothing in the treaty to

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prevent wild fluctuations of greenhouse gases. The Protocol has no enforcement mechanisms to prevent trees, grasses, flowers, shrubs, and other plants from dying, or swamps from belching or cows from farting—and remember, natural processes account for nearly the entirety of the greenhouse effect.⁸



Stop Global Warming So We Can Keep Our Large Trucks Full of Oil Coming

Global warming isolates Canadians in far north

TORONTO, Ontario (Reuters)—Aboriginal communities in Ontario's far north are becoming increasingly isolated as rising temperatures melt their winter route to the outside world and impede their access to supplies.



During the coldest months between January and March, “winter roads” are cleared on the frozen network of rivers and lakes to let trucks deliver bulk supplies like fuel and building materials.



About 20,000 people live in the remote reservations and rely on winter shipments of heating oil, gasoline, and diesel fuel to power generating stations. The fragile ice has forced them to hire more trucks to carry lighter loads.

CNN.com, November 13, 2006

[Because clearly aborigines in the “far north” of Canada really don’t want to be isolated.]

Even if we buy the European Union's sudden, unexplained switch to claiming that their Kyoto promise is now one of preventing 2° C *warming*, it's an impossible task. Remember, the planet has been cooling and warming for millennia, regardless of man's actions. All of the keening over modernity in the world will not change the fact that while nature may possess a global thermostat, Man does not.

Finally, let's imagine that Kyoto aims to control greenhouse gas *emissions*—not concentrations, and not a specific temperature, but solely anthropogenic emissions—a theoretically attainable goal. Even on this far more modest goal, Kyoto wouldn't do nearly enough to make a detectable dent in the global warming the alarmists are predicting (and that they are predicting will be catastrophic).

Not only does this treaty or any other do nothing to address “natural” greenhouse gas emissions (nearly all GHGs), it leaves alone most of the world's *Manmade* greenhouse gas emissions. Only thirty-five countries have agreed to cap their emissions—mostly big guns like Iceland, Belarus, and Slovakia—while more than 150 countries are exempt—including “top ten” emitters China, India, and South Korea, as well as Mexico and Brazil among others.

China and India are among the few parts of the “developing” world that are actually developing. That means they are industrializing, and thus increasing emissions. By 2009, China will be the planet's top emitter of greenhouse gases, according to the International Energy Agency's estimates. Kyoto imposes no limits on China's emissions and China insists it will stay exempt for at least our lifetime, during which period it will add a new coal-fired power plant every five days.

Poor countries are poor in no small measure because they are energy poor. Some two billion people on this planet have never flipped a light switch. China, for example, understands that a prerequisite of economic growth is getting enough energy for its people, which is why it is investing heavily in coal and nuclear power. These nations will never free their

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people from the drudgery and back-breaking labor we escaped last century if government denies them access to affordable, largely carbon-based fuels. This is why they reject Kyoto's rationing. They're already experiencing insufficient energy, and that is why they are poor. We have adequate energy, barely for now and with (also for now) only occasional exceptions, which is why our standard of living is so high, life spans are increasing, hunger is abated, and so on.

Given the many holes in Kyoto's purported assault on warming, it is little surprise that a scientist declared that the treaty would do almost nothing toward that end.

Thomas Wigley of the National Center for Atmospheric Research asked what effect Kyoto would have on warming.⁹ He examined many different scenarios, and concluded: "in all cases, the long-term consequences are small." Wigley—firmly entrenched in the alarmist camp, mind you—estimates that in 2100, global-mean temperatures will have risen just over 2 degrees Celsius in the absence of the Kyoto Protocol. Wigley says that complying with Kyoto would reduce global warming by 0.08 degrees C—probably the difference between your right arm and your left arm right now. That is, with or without Kyoto, temperatures rise a little less than 2° C (just as looking out the window at the past three decades' warming would tell you we should experience at most 1.7° C, as explained in these pages).

Wigley also examines situations in which countries make bigger sacrifices than those purportedly required by Kyoto but still concludes: "The rate of slow-down in temperature rise is small, with no sign of any approach to climate stabilization. The Protocol, therefore, even when extended as here, can be considered as only a first and relatively small step towards stabilizing the climate. The influence of the Protocol would, furthermore, be undetectable for many decades." As ringing an endorsement of Kyoto as you'll ever see.

Would Kyoto ward off the flood of waters upon the Earth prophesied by Al Gore as punishment for the wickedness of Man? Wigley writes:

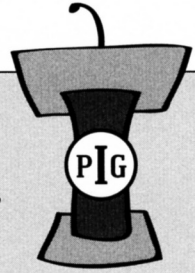
“Sea level rise reductions accrue even more slowly than warming reductions.” Sea level would, according to Wigley, possibly be eight millimeters to twenty-one millimeters lower in 2100 than they would be absent Kyoto. He points out, “the prospects for stabilizing sea level over coming centuries are remote, so it is not surprising that the Protocol has such minor effects.” Given that sea levels, like climate, are demonstrably *not* stable throughout history, but fluctuate with the ice-age cycles, this is a statement we should all be able to agree on. Consensus!

Again, if European governments continue hiking gas prices and heating prices, raising taxes to subsidize renewables, and losing jobs to China and India until 2100, they *might* just save eight to twenty-one millimeters of shoreline.

Green Wisdom

“We, in the Green movement, aspire to a cultural model in which the killing of a forest will be considered more contemptible and more criminal than the sale of six-year-old children to Asian brothels.”

Carl Amery of the Green Party, quoted in *Mensch & Energie*, April 1983.



Europe's embarrassment

Amid all of Europe's scolding of the U.S. for not ratifying Kyoto, you might not notice that they are failing to live up to the treaty. Despite more than a decade of coercive policies and energy suppression in the name of “global warming,” and their staggeringly high energy taxes, *Europe is not curbing its CO₂ emissions.*

As demonstrated in the chart opening this chapter, since Kyoto (1997), Europe's carbon dioxide emissions have *increased* dramatically. Since 2000 they are increasing three times as fast as America's. Remember, Kyoto mandated that Europe collectively reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 8 percent lower than the amount they were emitting in 1990.

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When you look at the individual countries' performances, all but two of them have failed and project to continue to fail to meet this target. Before examining the data, it's important to remember the way the Europeans cleverly designed the treaty and its targets, or "did a good job negotiating in Kyoto" as their top policy expert says.

It was a very conscious, adamantly insisted-upon decision by Europe in 1997 to pledge instead to reduce their emissions relative to 1990—a baseline that just happened to afford them several advantages. Not least among these was that Europe was emitting fewer GHGs in 1997 than they were in 1990. Again, the reduction over the first part of the '90s was not due to any newfound sensitivity to climate change, but to two political decisions that had nothing to do with "global warming" (which had only been hatched in public in 1988, prior to which the mania was of course "global cooling").

When the United Kingdom, under Margaret Thatcher, eased government control of the energy sector, the new private energy companies made a famous "dash for gas" that enabled them to generate electricity far more cheaply, in part by scuttling overpriced unionized coal miners. Thatcher had been bedeviled by the serially striking coal miners in the UK holding their economy—and her economic reforms—hostage. Naturally, she had a strong role in seeing this transition come about. This steady shift from coal to nuclear power and the less carbon-intensive natural gas lowered Britain's greenhouse gas emissions throughout the 1990s.

In Germany, the Berlin Wall fell in 1989; East and West Germany reunified on October 3, 1990. In the words of an analyst for the center-left Brookings Institution, "Germany's reduced greenhouse emissions largely reflect a geopolitical quirk—it shut down wildly inefficient plants it inherited from East Germany."¹⁰ It was that simple: shut down Soviet factories and shift the production to newer capacity, and declare the false *Wirtschaftswunder* ("economic miracle") of having grown economically while reducing GHGs!

The European Environment Agency puts it this way:

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Sven Auken presumed his native land could do just that, insisting on matching whatever promise Germany made in the “Burden Sharing” negotiations yet without the luxury of shutting down (hardworking) Jutland. As a result, Denmark projects that it will be “Europe’s biggest Kyoto violator.” This is only due to an absurd political promise, of course. Denmark’s emissions are projected to increase 16 percent or more over 1990 by 2010, which is child’s play compared to Spain’s projection of being 48 percent above 1990 by the benchmark year of 2010, Portugal by an astounding 72 percent, Greece by 42 percent, and Ireland by 29 percent, among other violators increasing emissions faster than Denmark, symbolic as the home of Europe’s Environment Agency.¹⁵

Europe is struggling with this reality. Though Spain formally reported this number to the United Nations as required, it is fair to say they issued no press releases about it. When I emphasized the failure, publishing Spain’s own chart, during a March 2006 speech in Madrid, the Spanish environment ministry refused to confirm that any such figures—publicly available on the UNFCCC website—existed.

The European Union knows no such Iberian modesty as to refuse the opportunity to issue press releases, no matter how embarrassing the underlying truth. Consider the difference between its press releases and the actual emissions it reports. Both are released publicly with the full and rewarded confidence that no reporter will touch the actual report:

“Climate change: EU on track to reach Kyoto targets, latest projections show”:

The EU is well on its way to achieve its Kyoto Protocol targets for reducing emissions of greenhouse gases *on the basis of the policies, measures and third-country projects already implemented or planned*. . . . The latest projections from member states indicate combined EU-15 emissions [reducing] to 9.3% below 1990 levels by 2010. This clearly fulfils the 8%

reduction target from 1990 levels that the protocol requires the EU-15 to achieve during 2008–2012.

EEA press release, December 2005, announcing
annual numbers (emphases added).¹⁶

The actual report, however, were a journalist to dare read past the press release, says: “*Even with planned additional domestic policies and measures, the target will not be reached.*”¹⁷

To learn this truth, one would have to roll up one’s sleeves and read all the way down to the *first page* of the report’s *first section*, in the *very first paragraph*. No reporter did.

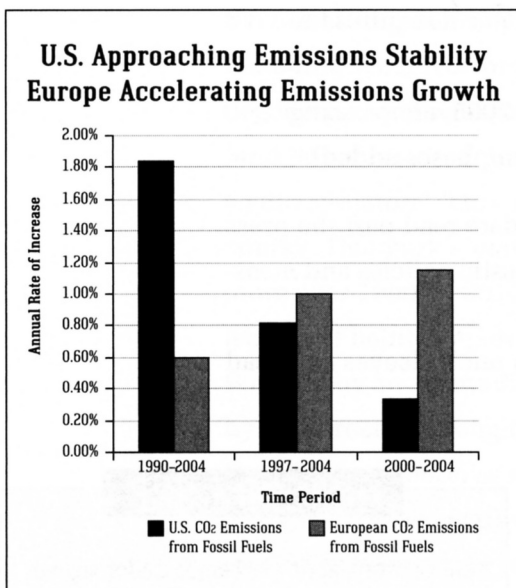
Further, “The target will only be attained when Kyoto mechanisms are taken into account.” While other tricks are actually required to reach the target, this report was really saying that European nations are *not* in fact reducing their menacing, hurricane-causing GHG emissions, but they do plan to pay Poland and the Czech Republic (whose post-communism economic restructuring provided plenty of low-hanging fruit), among others, in a wealth transfer scheme to buy GHG “credits.”

So, the fifteen countries who were part of the EU when Kyoto was drafted (the EU-15, they are called), were by 2004 emitting more CO₂ than they have at any point in their history, with increases five of the seven years since they made their Kyoto promise.¹⁸ When you consider *all* greenhouse gases, the EU-15’s emissions are, as of the most recent figures (2004), down almost 1 percent from 1990, but rising. This is nonetheless 7 percent higher than the goal they are supposed to reach by 2010 under Kyoto, and going the wrong way. Meeting this goal



Bill Clinton’s acting UN ambassador signed the Kyoto Protocol on November 12, 1998. Clinton relinquished the presidency at noon on January 20, 2001. That gave him **801** days in which to lift a finger in favor of Kyoto’s ratification. No such finger was lifted.

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might be possible were they on the decline, which they are not. UK chancellor of the exchequer Gordon Brown humorously trumpeted that Europe had reached its target several years early. Given that their CO₂ emissions are rising, this is the last time they will see levels down where they promised they would be. By this logic, the U.S. achieved its 1990 emissions levels seventeen years ago, right around 1990.

Using any benchmark but one, the EU-15's CO₂ emissions have gone up and faster than the United States'. The chart at left details European CO₂ emissions from 1990 to 2004.¹⁹

Only when they use 1990 as the baseline can they claim superior performance to the U.S.—again for the simple, unrelated reason of the UK and German circumstances described above.

At some point, one might imagine a chastened Europe would dial the rhetoric down a bit—but not as long as the unquestioning media give them, and their enabling American politicians, a free ride on the issue.

Still, Europe regularly boasts about its spectacular Kyoto leadership, while the numbers tell the opposite story.²⁰ These are not secret numbers. They are public information, but journalists seem to have trouble finding them.

While Europe promised their emissions would be down, they are up; though they promised emissions would be dropping, they are rising. Meanwhile, the EU engages in name calling and blames the U.S. for causing hurricanes. Here's an even more inconvenient fact for Europeans, Al Gore, and John McCain: the U.S. performs much better at curbing emissions.

Like Europe, our emissions are up since 1997, and, because we did not have the benefit of the East German or UK anomalies, our greenhouse

gases are also higher than they were in 1990. Since Kyoto was agreed in 1997, however, we are performing better than the EU-15 (as shown by the middle pair of bars in the above graph). Both we and they are increasing emissions, but in the past five years for which have data they are increasing *three times* more rapidly. Kyotophiles at this point in the discussion tend to change the subject to per capita emissions, hopping on the “wasteful Americans” horse they’ve beaten to death ages ago, and belied, below.

Bad science, bad math

Despite, or possibly even *because of*, Kyoto’s inherent fecklessness and Europe’s own failure to match its rhetoric with action, we are routinely bombarded with whines about a gluttonous United States population recklessly slurping energy to fuel its selfish ways while unfairly feeding the poison fruit of its lifestyle to the rest of the planet. The talking point perhaps most prominent among robotic greens worldwide is that the U.S. contains only 5 percent of the world’s population but emits 25 percent of the planet’s (Manmade) GHGs.

This is not only an exaggeration of U.S. emissions, but also an intentionally twisted way of viewing the U.S. contribution. It ignores the important fact that the 300 million Americans also contribute far more than their share of economic productivity to the planet at—this is what kills the whiny argument—a lower rate of GHGs per unit of economic production than the rest of the world. If you compare the U.S.’s contribution to the global GDP (made possible by our energy use), we are contributing *less than our share* of greenhouse gases. People are not just stomachs and feet that push gas pedals, but a set of hands and a brain. They are engaged in creativity and industry.

It is illogical to compare U.S. energy consumption with those huge swaths of the world that continue to live in deadly poverty, though that

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is precisely what the greens' "5 percent/25 percent" snivel does. This poverty persists in part because so many people are too busy scavenging their next meal or dose of medicine to do much else, let alone produce exports, remove bacteria from their water, keep themselves warm, keep their food cold, or partake in other reprehensible behaviors that pollute the air with CO₂. The world is not awash in energy, but suffering for lack of it.

Comparing countries' GHG emissions per capita is misleading because it assumes that poverty is the norm (of course we will have higher emissions than North Korea; we actually have electricity). This comparison also punishes productivity—an economy where each worker can produce only one widget a day will produce fewer emissions per capita than one where, thanks to automation, the worker is producing one hundred widgets per hour.

The saner measure is to compare emissions per contribution to global economic productivity. This measure, however, is not useful to the greens, because it doesn't make the U.S. look so bad. In fact, we emerge from this analysis as paragons of climate virtue.

We know that the rest of the world understands that rich countries are different from poor countries, and that one's influence and responsibility should be gauged not on the basis of population but contribution to the global economy. We know this because the United States is dinged for a quarter of the United Nations' budget (22 percent of the operating budget and 27 percent of its "peacekeeping" budget). One complaint most certainly *not* heard on college campuses or among the Salvationists is that a country holding a mere 5 percent of the world's population carries a quarter of that particular institution's dead weight.

Conveniently, a quarter also happens to be the approximate U.S. contribution of the world's (Manmade) GHG emissions. According to the U.S. Energy Information Administration's figures, in 2003 the U.S. emitted

5,808 million metric tons (mmt) of GHG, out of a total global output of 25,162 mmt—that's 23 percent of the world's anthropogenic GHGs.²¹

These emissions are in return for what economic contribution? According to the CIA World Factbook,²² 2005 Gross World Product (GWP) was \$59.59 trillion. The U.S. provided \$12.41 trillion, or 20.8 percent. Hmmm, 21 percent of the economy produces 23 percent of Man's GHGs. So the greens have a very small point, but when you consider that the American government is the most generous in the world, as are private Americans, that 2.2 percent becomes a wash.

The 20.8 percent figure results from measuring the GWP by the standard of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)—probably the most useful and relevant standard, and certainly that accepted as the professional norm. Greens, in the context of global warming, instead insist on using the standard of Market Exchange Rates (MERs).

Using the green-demanded MERs, the GWP shrinks to \$43.92 trillion, of which the U.S. is responsible for GDP \$12.47 trillion. That's 28.4 percent of the productivity, for which it produces a disproportionately low 23 percent of the world's (manmade) GHGs! What this means is that, were the rest of the world to become as GHG efficient as the U.S., Kyoto's desired emission reductions would be obtained, several times over, and through



“[T]he vast majority of Europeans would be delighted’ if President Bush fails to win re-election on November 2. European animosity toward the incumbent began with his administration’s rejection of the Kyoto Treaty on the environment,’ Parmentier says, ‘and grew over tensions caused by the war in Iraq.’”

Council on Foreign Relations, on-line interview with French foreign policy expert
Guillaume Parmentier.

economic advancement, not restriction. That would certainly matter, were the underlying objective of Kyoto actually to simply reduce GHG emissions.

Bush and Kyoto

Europe's greenhouse gases are rising many times faster than ours. We emit less than our share of greenhouse gases. Still, Europeans seem to blame us for the climate catastrophe they say is already upon us. Specifically, they even blamed us for causing Hurricane Katrina. Seriously. Germany's then environment minister Jürgen Trittin stated in an op-ed, "The American president is closing his eyes to the economic and human costs his land and the world economy are suffering under natural catastrophes like Katrina and because of neglected environmental policies."²³ (Let lie the temptation to point out that Europe's performance might just point the finger at them for such storms.)

In the end, however, because they can't really point to performance, they point to intentions and words. The U.S. is ruining the planet because it has rejected Kyoto, they argue. GHG performance clearly has no place in this analysis. We can only exculpate ourselves by turning to the global greens and telling them "you're right." Clinton did that by signing Kyoto. Then, like Bush, Clinton proceeded to lift not one finger to seek Kyoto's ratification for over three years. But because of his signature, he is their hero. Unlike Bush, he told them, "you're right." That's what counted then, and still counts today. That's childish.

Equally juvenile is the specific claim (and Democrats join in on this one) that George W. Bush's unilateralism and opposition to science are threatening the planet and ruining the goodwill Europe used to hold toward the United States.

This, of course, is hogwash.

Remember, Bill Clinton delegated to his ambassador the task of signing the Kyoto Protocol, but never pushed nor even asked the Senate to ratify it.

He never even transmitted the treaty with a note leaving it to their own devices and counsel. It is true that the Senate had voted, in advance and unanimously, that the U.S. should not enter a global warming treaty that would damage the U.S. economy (Kyoto *would*) or that exempted most of the world (Kyoto *does*).

This required hard work by the administration, to change the terms of the treaty (instead, they signed it a year later), or change the minds of either the reluctant U.S. Senate, or the majority of the world that remained exempt. The day the U.S. agreed to the treaty, Al Gore said: “As we have said before, we will not submit the Protocol for ratification without the meaningful participation of key developing countries in efforts to address climate change.” No such lobbying of the world was evident, and the administration never sought Senate approval.

So the Clinton-Gore administration’s position was: we will sign the treaty, but not pursue its ratification.

It is difficult to distinguish this from the Bush administration’s position. First, the executive’s approval, in the form of a U.S. signature, is still attached to the treaty. Despite remarkably sloppy reportage to the contrary, President Bush never refused to sign Kyoto. He never had the option—it was already signed. Further, while Senate rules are ambiguous on the question of whether they require transmittal, the Constitution allows the Senate to vote up or down on signed treaties, with no mention of a formal “submission” or transmittal to them. Case law and the Constitution are clear: no court would impede the Senate from voting on Kyoto tomorrow. That means that at any point since 1998, including the time period when Tom Daschle was majority leader of the Senate and thus Democrats controlled the floor, the Senate could have held a vote to ratify the treaty, at most needing a rule tweak. They never have. The new Democratic majority could do the same. They won’t. The Executive Branch’s constitutional role in the treaty process is complete. However, given the End-of-Days rhetoric seeping from some of our senators, it

seems remarkable that not one has sought to bring the treaty to a vote. It is of course so much easier to simply cast blame, particularly when the press allows one to toss about phony comparisons between administration actions and claims of withdrawals that never were.

Conversely, President Bush *could* move us further away from ratification by, in effect, unsigning the treaty. He did that with the Rome Treaty establishing an International Criminal Court.²⁴ He hasn't done it with the

Kyoto Protocol. So, the Bush administration's position—not rhetoric—is indistinguishable from the Clinton-Gore position: our signature is on it, the Senate may work its will if they wish, but we will neither withdraw from it nor do anything to encourage its ratification.

Still, Bush gets pilloried for “rejecting” Kyoto. If Bush “rejected” Kyoto, so did Bill Clinton and Al Gore. The sole distinction is their respective rhetoric—Bush has been honest that he won't try to get it ratified—which is hereby established as what really matters.

Reuters wrote in 2005 that “Many international leaders have criticized Bush's refusal to sign Kyoto.”²⁵ London's *Independent* similarly wrote that “President George

Bush has refused to sign Kyoto.”²⁶ The *St. Louis Journalism Review* parroted this line, writing of the “Bush administration's refusal to sign the Kyoto Protocol.” On six occasions, the Associated Press has written about the Bush administration's “refusal to sign Kyoto,” including one mention by the White House correspondent. The *New York Times* last November wrote that the U.S. “refused to sign” the treaty. Seeing how Bill Clinton already signed Kyoto, Bush can't sign it. (Should we expect stories about



Green Wisdom

“In short, if we can rise to the challenge, the permanent abolition of the wheel would have the marvelously synergistic effect of creating thousands of new jobs—as blacksmiths, farriers, grooms and so on—at the same time as it conserved energy and saved the planet from otherwise inevitable devastation.”

Catherine Bennett,
The Guardian (UK),
2004

President Bush's "refusal to sign the Treaty of Paris" or his "refusal to sign the Declaration of Independence"?)

More careful—but just as dishonest—critics say that President Bush withdrew from a "Kyoto process." Having subjected myself to many of the meetings that constitute the "Kyoto process," I therefore need some explanation for the American hordes in pinstripes wearing State Department badges since 2001. Reporters even attend press conferences by the U.S. delegation obviously quite present and the same day quote in their stories UN-types demanding that the U.S. rejoin the process. Senate Foreign Relations Committee member John Kerry certainly should know as much, given that he approves the money spent to send our delegates. Under Bush the U.S. continued to send typically the largest delegation of any nation in the world to the Kyoto negotiations.

But unless we're there to tell the greens they're right, we aren't really there. We really should ask for our money back.

Prattling political polemics

The list of politicians who blame Bush's stance on the Kyoto Protocol for rampant anti-Americanism seems endless. As the Democratic Party's most recent standard-bearer for the White House, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts is a fine case study.

After announcing his exploratory presidential bid, Kerry delivered two of his first major policy speeches premised largely on President Bush's mythical policy reversal on Kyoto. These were his speech on foreign relations at Georgetown's Walsh School of Foreign Service,²⁷ in which Kerry asserted that Bush's Kyoto withdrawal was reaping consequences for Middle East diplomacy, and his speech on the environment at Harvard's Kennedy School.²⁸

Aides billed the Georgetown speech as a signature issue—the U.S. needs to play nicer with others. Kerry's timing was impeccably Gore-like for its

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dissonance from real-life world events, delivered as it was in the midst of a “record-breaking” and deadly cold wave. It was also wonderfully enabling, coinciding with the French and Germans escalating their coordination aimed at rendering the United Nations Security Council “impotent” (in the accurate phraseology of Secretary of State Colin Powell).

Kerry complained that the Bush administration’s “high-handed treatment of our European allies, on everything from Iraq to the Kyoto climate change treaty, has strained relations nearly to the breaking point.” (Later, his wife reiterated this ignorance, actually bemoaning Bush’s *refusal to sign* Kyoto for the discomfort they were doubtless forced to confront at continental cocktail parties.)

Soon after his Georgetown speech Kerry again offered his Kyoto/Iraq relativism in an interview on *FOX News Sunday*. He suggested the Europeans would work with us constructively on battling terrorism if we gave in to them on battling affordable energy:

This administration has broken the relationships that we had, the strength of those relationships. And there’s a lack of credibility and a lack of trust. *This administration has never, ever fully offered these other countries the kind of partnership, the kind of decisionmaking sharing, the kind of participation in the reconstruction, the kind of participation in other issues that matter to those countries that actually bring them to the table.* I know how to bring these countries to the table. And there are some very powerful cards we have to play . . . The European countries have a huge stake in not having a failed state in Iraq, but they’re not at the table today. The truth is, this president has failed in his conduct of diplomacy²⁹ (emphases added).

Kerry blamed France’s misbehavior on Bush’s Kyoto stance regularly. He even trotted this mythology out during the first candidates’ debate after receiving the nomination.³⁰

Bill Clinton stayed true to form in his July 26, 2004, keynote speech at Kerry's nominating convention in Boston, with a repetitive rant about how the U.S. had made its bed of angry allies by squandering "post-9/11" global goodwill by affirming the U.S. policy of not seeking ratification of Kyoto, *six months before September 11* (Bush made his position clear in March 2001).

This pair is not alone in their mindset that there simply are greater factors at play when the U.S. asserts policy decisions on sovereignty and national security than simply our own selfish notions of sovereignty and national security.

Possible future Democratic nominee Senator Hillary Clinton apes Kerry's argument that the U.S. "has not led but fled on global warming" and should now "rejoin our allies at the negotiating table."³¹ Like most smart politicians, Hillary is reticent to invoke the K-word itself. Senator Clinton chooses to speak solely in terms of "climate change." Still, she makes clear her sympathy for the party line that under Bush the U.S. just walked away from something, reversing the course of events pursued under her husband's administration. For example, the following from a speech at the National Press Club in 2006 is typical of her rhetoric on the subject:

[I]f we're going to *reassert our leadership* on climate change—which I think we should—we've got to deal with coal. And the first step is to take a mandatory cap-and-trade system, like that developed in the McCain-Lieberman legislation that I support, but obviously going out and trying to *reengage* the rest of the world in this issue.³²

To review, the only U.S. president whose team ever "disengaged" from or walked away from the table as regards Kyoto is Bill Clinton. This disengagement occurred at the failed November 2000 talks in The Hague, when Europe sought to take advantage of a presumably desperate U.S. team of Gore acolytes as the Florida recount unfolded in the courts.³³ To avoid

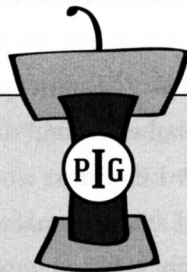
economic devastation to the U.S. while pursuing GHG reductions, negotiators had agreed to allow countries to use GHG *sinks*—forestry or other land use practices absorbing or not emitting atmospheric gases. The Europeans wanted to scrap this—only reducing emissions would do.³⁴ The U.S. up and walked away. The greens, at the time, quite rightly blamed Europe.³⁵

The U.S. returned to the next talks in force, under George W. Bush, still facing and—this being their sin—*acknowledging* the unanimous Senate

vote against such an agreement, as well as his openly expressed personal opposition. This also, by the way, belies the occasional defense of Bill Clinton vs. Bush on Kyoto, that Clinton at least sought to fix Kyoto's problems while Bush just walked away.³⁶

Having hereby corrected the record, let us note that Hillary's mantra about "reen-gaging" and "reasserting our leadership" also betrays an ignorance or revision of history that so fulsomely emanates from Kerry, Daschle, Bill Clinton, and the rest. She also exposes sympathy for a president ignoring the Senate's clear pursuit of its "advice and consent" role. Hillary still views herself as a "co-president," as she bides time and builds a persona to run on her own, with consistent disdain for the minor constitutional impediment to executive authority that is Article I of that guiding document (the legislature), and other limits such as those found in Article II, Section 2.

No Blood for Oil! But Blood for Kyoto? *Oui!*



"One reason Washington's goodwill reserve had all but vanished [when seeking support at the UN for its Iraq stance] is that European countries pay a lot of attention to treaties.... Nonetheless, early in its term, the Bush administration declared war on all outstanding international treaties. First he repudiated the Kyoto Protocol on the environment."

Former Clinton administration State Department official **James P. Rubin**, "Stumbling into War," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2003

Global governance

It is already apparent that the Kyoto Protocol isn't working. No party to Kyoto is reducing emissions since agreeing to the treaty, and the only ones who can claim emission reductions must a) invoke Kyoto's 1990 baseline for such a claim and b) rely upon reasons completely and inarguably unrelated to Kyoto. Not surprisingly, no one else wants to join the sinking ship. Even if it functioned as imagined it would make us poorer without making us cooler, and thirty Kyotos would without doubt be a cure worse than the alleged disease. Most climate change risks can be handled more effectively at less cost through wealth- and resiliency-enhancing measures.

The risks of climate change policy—poverty and coercive wealth redistribution—outweigh the risks that might be expected as climate continues to change. Bjorn Lomborg correctly asks why would anyone propose spending twice as much money as would address, and in great part solve, the world's existing problems, such as unsafe drinking water, real pollution, mosquito-borne diseases, and AIDS, in order to do nothing? The answer has everything to do with the real environmentalist agenda, and nothing to do with "climate change."

First, it's important to remember the words of Europe's then commissioner for the environment, Margaret Wallstrom (now EU vice president for, of all things, communication): "This is not a simple environmental issue where you can say it is an issue where the scientists are not unanimous. This is about international relations, this is about economy, about trying to create a level playing field for big businesses throughout the world." But the treaty doesn't target Mexico's, China's, or India's competitive advantage gained through lower environmental standards—those nations' emissions would not be curbed. Quite clearly, they would increase, due to Kyoto's inherent incentive to offshore energy-intensive activity from wealthy countries with stringent environmental standards to these laggards. Well, Wallstrom was making it clear—Kyoto was about hobbling *America's* economy to give Socialist Europe a fighting chance.

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When considering European cries about Kyoto, it is critical to remember that the dream of the environmentalists is global governance. French president Jacques Chirac is blessed with the virtue of forthrightness. At the infamous Hague talks, Chirac called the Kyoto Protocol “the first component of an authentic global governance.” There it is. Kyoto is the tool by which the Chiracs of the world can finally get some control over us unruly Americans.

Unluckily for Jacques, John Kerry’s “global test” did not fly with American voters in 2004. Chirac also lost an ally in the U.S. Senate in 2004, thanks to the cruelties of the democratic process. Consider this exchange in 2002 between then Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle and FOX News’ Tony Snow:

SNOW: You were harshly critical the other day at the Bush administration’s foreign policy. Once again you said, “I don’t know if we’ve ever seen a more precipitous drop in international stature and public opinion with regard to this country as we have in the last two years.” Typically, people cite several things with regard to this. One was the Kyoto protocol, correct?

DASCHLE: Correct.

SNOW: You voted against that.

DASCHLE: I did.

SNOW: OK. The International Criminal Court, you voted against that.

DASCHLE: That’s correct.

SNOW: And Iraq, where you voted with the president. So on all these key issues, the ones that the Europeans are constantly citing, you’re on the same side as the White House.

This prompted our hero to voice his real complaint:

DASCHLE: Well, it's not necessarily the position in that legislative approach that I think is the concern. It's the attitude. It's the way that we have gone about foreign policy, especially, Tony, this unilateral approach to foreign policy, *dictating on a unilateral basis what the United States' position is going to be* and expecting, really, all these countries in a very autocratic or very authoritarian way to comply (emphasis added).

Yes, he really said that.

There we have it. The Democratic Party's then leader actually affirmed his belief that leaving it up to America to decide America's position is a "dictatorial approach [that] isn't going to work."

Left unanswered was precisely which nations should determine "what the United States' position is going to be." *Libya? The Maldives?* Of course! Europe.

The Holy Grail

U.S. ratification of Kyoto is the holy grail of Al Gore and other greens. Next time you end up at a cocktail party with one of these types, remember:

Kyoto would make us poorer. The *need* for Kyoto is based on faulty models. If the predictions are true, then Kyoto would be one-thirtieth of the needed fix. It is designed to fail, and is working as designed.

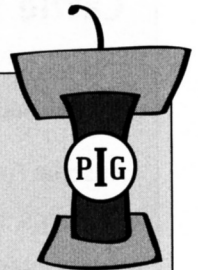
That is, Kyoto would be a prescription for addressing "global warming," but with

Kyoto is "the first component of an authentic global governance."

French
president

Jacques Chirac,

Opening remarks, Sixth Conference of Parties to Kyoto (COP-6), The Hague, November 2000



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some not-so-minor caveats, such as: If it functioned as advertised and not as designed; if it didn't prove, as it has, to largely just send economic growth offshore; if Europe stopped gaming the system it created and began matching its rhetorical zeal for emissions reduction with action; and if the rest of the world stopped rejecting its scheme.

Finally, the world would have to somehow overcome the inescapable: climate has always changed and it always will; Man has always adapted, the wealthiest societies adapt the best; reducing global wealth—as Kyoto will—only ensures we will be even more vulnerable to the one certainty of the global warming debate: unpredictable and occasionally severe weather.

Europe is increasing emissions, not reducing them to meet its targets, and their elites are exposed as seeing the treaty as a Trojan horse for “global governance” that will “level the playing field.”

Cattle That Rattle

The following is from the technical report of the European Environment Agency's 2006 “Greenhouse Gas Inventory”:

Austria: Emissions of cattle dominate the trend. The reduction of dairy cows is partly counterbalanced by an increase in emissions per animal (because of the increasing gross energy intake, milk production and [nitrogen] excretion of [dairy] cattle since 1990).

